



Framing Migration in the 21st Century: The Migrant Caravan in US and Mexican Presses

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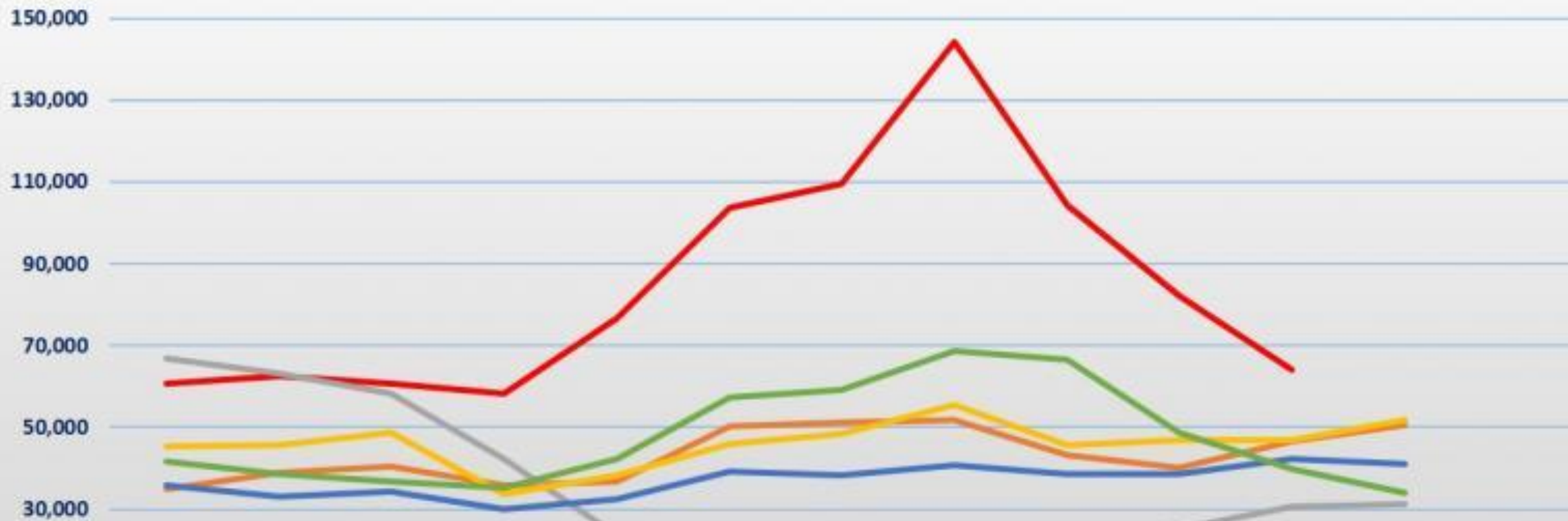
Overview

1. Context of immigration to the US
2. Migrant Caravan
3. Frames of Migration
4. Washington Post and El Universal
5. Frames found in the data set

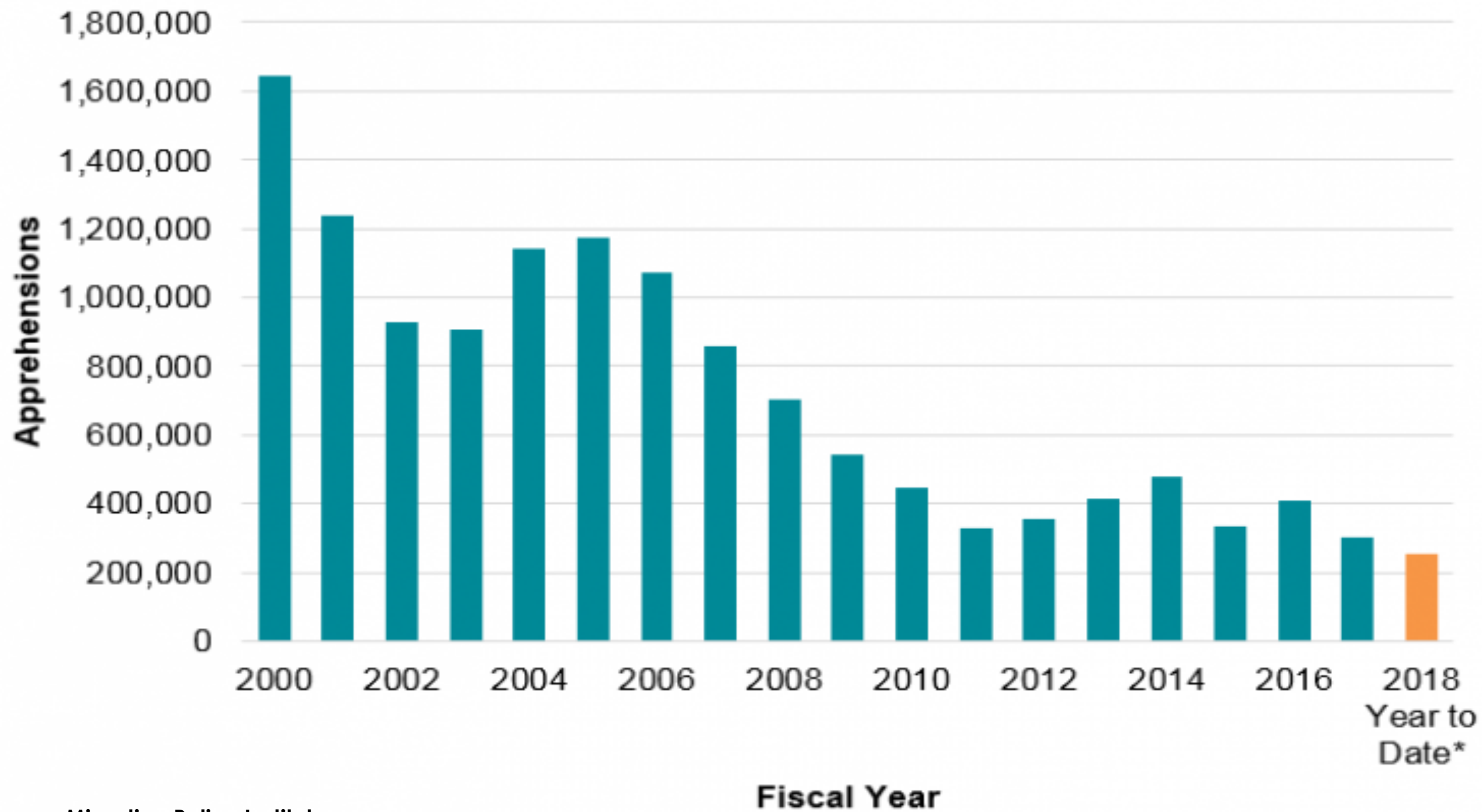
Migration in Numbers

- Estimated number of undocumented immigrants living in the US reached a 12-year low in 2016 (10.7 million) – (*Pew Research Center*)
- “Apprehensions are at historic lows. This fiscal year, those numbers will reach about four hundred thousand, but in the mid-’90s they reached up over 1.5 million.” (“*Media Plays into Trump’s Narrative on Migrant Caravan.*” *Columbia Journalism Review*)
- U.S. authorities detained more than 144,000 people in May, up from 58,000 in January. (*Homeland Security*)
- ICE has more than 60,000 officers and a budget of more than U\$4 billion – deportation-industrial complex(???) – (*American Immigration Council*)
- During the Obama administration, ICE deported almost 3 million immigrants. (*Homeland Security*)

CBP Southwest Border Total Apprehensions / Inadmissibles



	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	Total
— FY19	60,785	62,467	60,791	58,311	76,542	103,732	109,463	144,255	104,362	82,055	64,006		
— FY18	34,871	39,051	40,519	35,905	36,751	50,347	51,168	51,862	43,180	40,149	46,719	50,568	521,090
— FY17	66,842	63,218	58,379	42,359	23,557	16,794	15,798	19,966	21,673	25,069	30,582	31,280	415,517
— FY16	45,516	45,755	48,742	33,657	38,311	46,118	48,511	55,386	45,671	46,909	46,909	51,893	553,378
— FY15	35,903	33,032	34,243	30,180	32,550	39,162	38,296	40,683	38,619	38,611	42,415	41,165	444,859
— FY14	41,828	38,685	36,695	35,181	42,399	57,405	59,119	68,804	66,541	48,819	39,758	34,003	569,237



Trump and Migration

- National Emergency
- The Wall and Border Securitization
- Criminalization of migration
 - Misinformation and inaccurate data
 - Travel ban
- Threats to cut humanitarian aid to Central American countries
- Remain in Mexico Policy
- Safe Third-Country Agreement
- Financial aid to Mexico and Central America goes primarily to Counternarcotic programs (*USAid*)



¿Bienvenidas a México?

- AMLO accepted and enforced “Remain in Mexico” program (*WP*)
- Mexico restricts the movement of caravans across its territory (*WP*)
- Repression on Guatemala-Mexico border
- Between Jan-Sep 2018, +40.000 Hondurans arrested in Mexico
- Humanitarian Visas
- Signs of solidarity and hostility to the caravans.



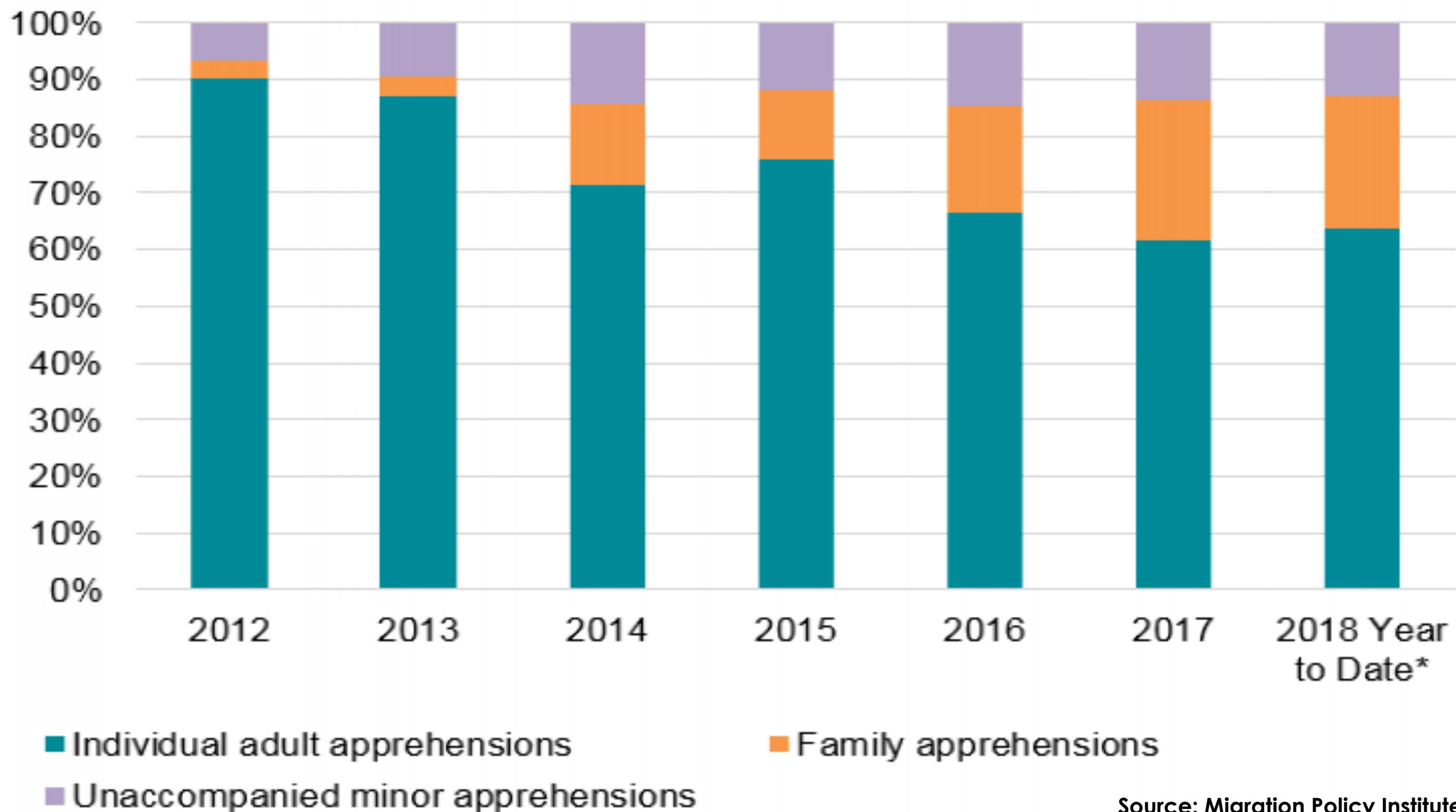
Second Migrant Caravan



Second Migrant Caravan



- Attracted a great amount of media coverage
- Whole families travelling together (changing patterns)
- A New Social Movement (*VientoSur*)
- Around 7,000 people
- NGO's and other social movements joined the caravan
- Migrants have to pay between U\$9,000-15,000 to “coyotes”



Source: Migration Policy Institute

Migration Frames

➤ Potential for Delinquency

- Trump's frame
- Some articles expressed the concern with migrants' criminal records

➤ Economic Contribution

- None of the articles delivered this frame
- (*Roberts, Michael. "Demographic Demise."*)
- Skilled or unskilled workers?
- Fiscal impact

➤ Humanitarian Crisis

- Deaths in the Mediterranean
- Syrian Refugees



Migration Frames

- Use of general/abstract language
 - Linguistic Intergroup Bias (**Dragojevic, Sink, and Mastro**)
- Migrants have no agency
 - Most of the times portrayed as victims or criminals
 - Migrants' lack of agency is also present in the literature on migration
- Lack of context
 - Migration framed as caused by “corruption” and “criminality” in migrant-producing countries – is that all?

News Framing

- Frames are principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters. In everyday life we frame reality in order to negotiate it, manage it, comprehend it, and choose appropriate repertoires of cognition and action.
(Gitlin 1980)

Washington Post

- WP was bought by Jeff Bezos in 2013
- The Post considers itself “the newspaper of official Washington”.
- The public perceives the *WP* as being more liberal than conservative, although slightly less liberal than the *NYT*. (*Pew Research Center*)
- It endorsed Republican candidates in some occasions.
- It opposes various Trumps policies, including the border wall.

El Universal

- Oldest Mexican newspaper, founded in 1916.
- It prints around 300,000 copies daily and more than 16 million single visitors on its website. (*Wikipedia*)
- Stands closer to PRI (EPN) than to MORENA (AMLO).
- El Universal was the main receptor of advertisement money during Peña Nieto's term (*NYT*)
- In Mexico, broadcast media is the most important.

Frames Washington Post

- Anti-Trump rhetoric – WP is against the wall
- The WP undertook a lot of fact-checking on Trump's declarations.
- **Nevertheless,**
 - Crisis on the border
 - Low number of border patrol
 - Crumbling infrastructure
- High numbers of migrants have to do with Trump reducing humanitarian aid to migrant-producing countries
 - Migrants come in big numbers (generate fear)
- The immigration system is not prepared to receive the caravan because the trend in migration is changing (families and minors)
- Lack of Central American sources – (in a few occasions migrants are quoted)
- Wave of migrants coming northward is not in the interest of the US

American policy is responsible for the migrant caravan

The U.S. exacerbated poverty and violence in Latin America, driving people from their homes.



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Frames El Universal

- Most sources were Mexican officials
- Negative depiction of Trump – positive depiction of Mexican government
- Use of general/abstract language in reference to migrants
- Silence about repression to migration in Mexico
- Migrants quoted by name only when portrayed as potential delinquents

References

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